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551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 854 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given 853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The 854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first [857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the taro beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

852 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the [152] mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and puts it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

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852 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words 195 that the child utters are "ape epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *unkemoto* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated taro. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to 852 feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed 866 coconut and taro. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

Education

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as 918 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

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tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; taro is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is taboo as long as medicine is being taken.

Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked taro mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or ensuit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nowa* plant and tied with ensuit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

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Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *talo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*mahi ngangu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taeyinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taeyinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*ouga mae*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

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A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

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Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke-nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.